

## ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis:

*INVESTIGATING THE LOSS OF IRISH CULTURE IN MARYLAND USING MATERIAL CULTURAL WITH THE APPLICATION OF CRITICAL RACE THEORY*

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2021

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In 1845, Maryland and the United States encountered an extraordinary influx in population largely due to the arrival of Irish immigrants fleeing Ireland due to the Great Famine. The population of the eastern United States consisted mostly of or descended from individuals and families that once lived under British rule and were exposed to the hate-filled rhetoric. With this influx came a need for housing and jobs which led to the dominant social group white, Anglo-Saxon protestants seizing an opportunity to repress and exploit a group Irish Diasporic for hard cheap labor.

Artifacts from three archaeological sites in Baltimore City and County, Maryland were analyzed and interpreted to gain insight on the Irish Diasporic community living in Maryland by utilizing Critical Race Theory and realization. Three specific time periods were designated to show how the dominate group dehumanized and forced the Irish to throw away their material culture to assimilate.

INVESTIGATING THE LOSS OF IRISH CULTURE IN MARYLAND USING  
MATERIAL CULTURE WITH THE APPLICATION OF CRITICAL RACE  
THEORY

By

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Masters of Professional Studies  
2021

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate my thesis to Hazel Weise, Richard ‘Keith’ Mitchell, James Mitchell,  
and my family.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would first like to acknowledge my family Jeanne Colopietro, Dan Colopietro SR., Kelley Colopietro, Daniel Colopietro Jr., and Jaclyn Colopietro for all their continued support throughout my life and work. Also, my grandparents and two great uncles Hazel Weise, John and Anne Colopietro, Richard ‘Keith’ Mitchell, James Mitchell, and all my extended family. I would next like to thank my committee members Dr. Palus, Dr. Brighton, Dr. Stowers, and Dr. Lafrenz Samuels who have assisted me greatly over my academic career. I would also like to thank Ms. Westwood and the MACLab for the assistance with obtaining the field reports and data. Next, I would like to thank the Archdiocese of Baltimore and Richard Berndt for the archival data. And I would like to thank all my fellow cohort members, Debby, Pam, Jen Cohn, Ness, Venus, Sukesha, Kahlian, Ms. Mahan, Ms. Gerri, Ms. Kathleen, Fr. Jonathan Morse, and Rob and Tammy Martinsen for all their support and being amazing friends.

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## **Chapter One: Introduction**

In today's society, there are a lot of discussions, heated and constructive about what it means to be a person and to be accepted by the majority. However, currently, talk of what it means to be open and accepting in our society towards other cultures, beliefs, and understandings are at the front of most political, religious and dinner table discussions. However, not all of these debates and conversations are a product of the discussion of race, inequality, and class disparity. Instead, the majority have frequently chosen to pit different diasporic community groups in America against one another in an attempt to justify the contempt and hate towards others by saying some groups had it worse than others (Brighton 2009). In contrast to most discussions, this research will focus on how the material culture from archaeological sites support the historical record and why this is important in today's political and cultural climate. Archaeologists ask the questions: Does the archaeological material recovered from Irish immigrant sites support the historical recorded of how the Irish Diasporic community is depicted? How does this tie into the greater discussion of diasporas and social equity? This thesis is that there is a visible pattern within the material cultural showing partial assimilation into the dominant group, through a loss of Irish material culture.

For this research, evidence was sought to show that the archaeological and historical accounts support one another concerning the Irish Diaspora and the effects this had on the Irish community. There is currently a 'movement' comparing diasporas that manipulate an individual's emotions. Axel Schmidt and Liam Kennedy, both of whom work for news sources are part of this movement and try to gain creditability by citing the historian Richard Jensen (2002) who had many of his works now called into

question on their validity starting when he first published in 2002. His work became a real point of conversation in 2015. The writer Dara Lind in their article “Why Historians Are Fighting About ‘No Irish Need Apply’ Signs — And Why It Matters” states how despite the evidence that proves his claims that the Irish were not mistreated, and that the signs no Irish apply were not real to be false, Jensen still stands firm in them (2015). Dara Kind also states that because of historians like Jensen, these claims will lead to spreading of misinformation and individuals by the public due to their false sense of credibility of the information because it is cited by an historian (Lind, 2015). Journalists such as Schmidt and Kennedy state that the history of the Irish Diaspora is factually wrong and comparatively not as bad as others, such as the African or Jewish diasporas. Axel Schmidt wrote an article for Reuters News Service titled “Fact Check: ‘Irish Slaves’ Meme Repeats Discredited Article”. The article may have started with the best of intentions; however, instead it is written and reads like the Irish Diaspora is a mere meme. Schmidt writes his article in such a way that makes the Irish Diaspora out to be nothing more than a Facebook meme that one’s racist family member reposts making it seem that it was not that bad (Schmidt, 2020). On the other hand, Liam Kennedy who writes for *The Spectator* has written one of the most head-scratching articles that is incomprehensible with its nonsensical arguments and lack of support. Kenney writes that the Irish-American mindset is a foundational myth and the Great Famine is an origin tale for the Irish in America, implying that it is a myth and did not happen (Kennedy, 2021). Kennedy also says that the Irish, especially the Irish Catholics, were a militant group that showed nothing but violence that needed to be

controlled (Kennedy, 2021). These individuals and the news platform they write for are problematic because they perpetuate misinformation and hate.

One might ask, why address these problematic news sources and writers in a thesis? Why is addressing Schmidt, Kennedy, and the Jensen articles important? It is important because archaeology acts as a corrective and advances historical knowledge, and it is our responsibility to stop the spread of misinformation. Allowing individuals and institutions to spread false knowledge creates and perpetuates a vicious cycle of hate and lack of understanding for other cultures, and ethnicities. Historians like Jensen do this, which in turn is giving credibility to news articles because they are supported in their claims by a historian.

Now the motivation behind the research has been explained, as well as where the existing knowledge gap occurs. So, this thesis will present an interpretation that is supported with archaeological data and historical data, to hopefully reach a wider public audience not just in the academic field. The thesis will be broken down into historical background, theoretical background, methods and data, results, analysis, and finally the conclusion.

The historical background is subdivided into the historical time period in Maryland where these archaeological sites are located, the history of the Irish Diaspora as a whole, and finally the history of the Irish Diaspora in Maryland. The historical background covers the time period from 1845 to 1900. This chapter will help give context to how the Irish were treated, viewed, and their beliefs. These, in turn, will give context to the material culture and artifacts that were recovered and the data. Without

this context and knowledge, one would not understand the significance and importance of clay smoking pipes, glass bottles, and religious medals.

The theoretical background is written and used to guide the research. The researcher has chosen to use critical race theory to analyze and interpret the data and artifacts. Both theories Critical race theory and racialization analyze and examines the dehumanization of an ethnicity due to cultural and/or physical differences between a dominant group and the dehumanized group. This is the definition of Critical Race Theory in archaeology as written and talked about by Dr. Orser. However, Critical Race Theory was first implemented and originated in the mid-1970s. To look at laws and regulations critically that were made and that are being made and how they impact people of color.

The methodology chapter explains how the researcher gathered, analyzed and interpreted the data. The researcher will show how the contexts in which the artifacts were recovered plays a key role in understanding these specific archaeological sites and answering the research questions. This chapter will also go into detail about the archaeological sites and their locations. The researcher will provide maps and figures to help give the reader a guide on where the artifacts were recovered and why these contexts and assemblages are significant. This chapter lays out the blueprint on how the results will be broken down as well as the analysis.

The results chapter will present the data and the findings that stress artifact context to inform the analysis chapter. The analysis chapter will give the researcher's interpretation of each artifact type and archival data and what they mean collectively

as well as the pattern that appears in each of the sites and the impact it has on the Irish Diasporic archaeology.

Finally, the conclusion of the thesis will bring everything together, what the research and researcher has found and their interpretations. Potential answers to the questions at the beginning and also questions that arose throughout the research will be provided. Implications from these results and interpretations will be discussed in addition to further research ideas.

## **Chapter Two: Theoretical Background**

### **Introduction**

This chapter will introduce and define archeological approaches to race and racialization, drawing on critical race theory which will be implemented throughout this research. Critical race theory is being applied in place of critical theory with the justification that the researcher views it as the most comprehensive theory that is able to give the most complete and clear picture of the researched topic. It is essential to understand how ‘race’ is used to control communities and cultures and what it meant to be one of the ‘races’ that were not elevated to a position of dominance or power in society. At the moment this theory is very much at the forefront of the public’s imagination due to the debates and protests taking place, such as the ongoing controversy over teaching critical race theory—really race-critical theory—in public schools (Miller, 2021). For example, Miller’s article explains that parents became irate if their children are subjected to the teaching of critical race theory- a theory they falsely believe, is about the hating of white individuals that a shouting match ensued and that for everyone’s safety and to make sure physical altercation happened the police were called (Miller, 2021) The researcher would like to also stress that this research was not done to be political. Critical Race Theory is not simply about how ‘whiteness’ is used to oppress cultures, communities, and ethnicities, but how the dominant group are able to use the ideas of race and culture to oppress using the law and state policies as the vehicle for oppression.

This thesis will present a brief history of the theory. Critical Race Theory was first conceived in the 1970s as a theory for law because it was made to look laws that

were made and how these laws impacted people of color and their communities differently from other communities. The theory itself is to look at how the dominant groups uses laws and government power and structural institutions to have communities and groups conform to the cultural and social norms they have put into place.

### **Critical Race Theory and Realization**

Critical race theory and racialization is a new theory being implemented in the field of archaeology and anthropology. One of the first and important figure in archaeology that has used Critical Race theory and racialization is Terrance Epperson. Terry Epperson published *Critical Race Theory and the Archaeology of the African Diaspora* (2009) and *The Politics of Empiricism and the Construction of Race as an Analytical Category* (2008). These two publications are extremely important to understanding, how the concept of race has impacted a culture and communities had conform to the dominant groups cultural and social norms. In Epperson articles *The Politics of Empiricism and the Construction of Race as an Analytical Category* explains how that the dominant groups use pressures from political institutions to push their will. One of the first archaeologists that utilized this theory and understanding of racialization is Dr. Charles Orser. Dr. Orser has a pedigree of credentials, as a research professor at Vanderbilt University (Anthropology), adjunct research professor at Western University (Anthropology) and Senior Historical Archaeologist now employed outside of the academy. He is one of the leading archaeologists on race theory with a multitude of publications to his name, such as *Historical Archaeology* (2016), *A Historical Archaeology of the Modern World* (1996), *Race and Practice in*

*Archaeological Interpretation* (2003), *Unearthing Hidden Ireland: Historical Archaeology at Ballykilcline, County Roscommon* (2006), and many others. In his article, “Race in Archaeology” (2014) Dr. Orser explains that archaeological interest in race as a topic of inquiry is relatively new, only recently developed in the 1990s, and that before this, and only beginning in the 1980s, many historical archaeologists investigated ethnicity rather than race.

Dr. Orser lays out in his publications how it is important to understand race narratives and stereotypes and how they were placed on a culture and community. Only then can a researcher, for example, truly understand why the Irish community’s behavior patterns and why they had to assimilate into the dominant group’s culture and follow dominate cultural norms. In “Race in Archaeology” (Orser, 2014) Orser explains this power the dominant group holds and how ‘race’ is used to subjugate the ‘other’. The biological fallacy of race, however, does not mean that racial theory has not been a continual force in modern history or that the perception of race has not had consequences. Powerful groups throughout time have used their ideas about racial difference to cement their authority and power. We are now able to see this pattern clearly and understand the implications it has on cultures and societies that were collected by these powerful groups (Orser, 2014:6223). One application of racial theory is concerned with physical appearance, where people that identified as belonging to an inferior “race” could be justifiably denigrating and discriminated against (Orser, 2014:6223). If one does not look, act, or practice like me, how can they be equal? People seeking to create or maintain strict social hierarchies used a distasteful science of race created, in part, by anthropologists to reinforce their claims of a group’s



inferiority and one's superiority. These claims placed white Anglo-Saxon protestants at the top and those they despised because of phenotype differences, at the bottom (Orser, 2014:6223). This sentiment is also repeated in *The Archaeology of Race and Racialization in Historic America* (Orser, 2007).

The American Anthropological Association (AAA) also made a statement that is similar in nature to that of Dr. Orser's when it comes to 'race' and understanding what that means in an archaeological context. Their statement is summarized below;

*The American Anthropological Association states that in the United States both scholars and the American public have been conditioned to view human races as natural and separate divisions within the human species based on outward visible physical differences (Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association. 1998). Evidence from the analysis of genetics (i.e. DNA) indicates that most physical variation, approximately 94% lies within the so-called racial groups and those conventional geographic "racial" groupings differ from one another only in about 6% of their genes (Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association. 1998). This evidence shows that there is greater variation within "racial" groups than between them (Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association. 1998). Throughout history whenever different groups have encountered one another they have interbred whereby when studying neighboring populations data reveals there is much overlapping of genes and their physical expressions of identity (Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association. 1998). The continued sharing of genetic materials is found in all of humankind as a single species. Historical data has shown that the idea of "race" has carried more meanings than mere physical differences; and that physical variations in the human species have no meaning except the social ones that humans put on them (Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association. 1998). The racial assignments/affiliations would consist of English and other European settlers, the colonized country and peoples, and those peoples of Africa brought in to provide slave labor (Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association. 1998).*

All three Terrence Epperson, Dr. Orser, and the AAA acknowledge that the concepts of race and racialization is important to understanding a culture and the societal factors that shaped them, and by not acknowledging the role race has played over time leaves a knowledge gap and incorrect conclusions can be made on who and why cultures acted and responded the way they did. So, by understanding the dominant groups power over social and political one is able to understand why a culture would have to assimilate for survival.

### **Critical Race Theory Irish Diaspora**

While archaeological research concerning the Irish Diaspora is somewhat limited to a small circle of researchers, they have made significant contributions. The leading archaeologist on this topic is Dr. Brighton and has been the head researcher on a notable archeological project, such as The Five Points in New York. Dr. Brighton is a professor at the University of Maryland, College Park and works in Ireland consistently leading a field school in the summer. Dr. Brighton's papers, "Degrees of Alienation: The Material Evidence of the Irish and Irish American Experience, 1850–1910" (2011) and "Middle-Class Ideologies and American Respectability: Archaeology and the Irish Immigrant Experience" (2011) as well as his book, *Historical Archaeology of the Irish Diaspora* (2009) are three major sources from the field of archaeology that investigate and discuss the Irish diaspora. Dr. Brighton's research focuses on how the archaeological artifacts show the change in Irish materials and culture, following the patterns of the dominant culture and their social norms. Dr. Brighton shows this through his analysis of medicinal bottles. Dr. Brighton discusses how the decline in the tonic and elixir bottles and an increase in medicinal bottles given

from doctors and pharmacists shows a pattern of assimilation with the dominant group (Brighton, 2009, 2011).

Dr. Meredith B. Linn is also investigating the Irish Diaspora and the usefulness that race theory has in analyzing archaeological and cultural data. Her research is also centered on the significance of medicinal bottles. According to Linn, the significance of these bottles conveys two meanings; (1) the Irish had not yet assimilated into the dominant group by adopting their norms and practices and (2) they could not afford standard medical treatments or there was distrust between the Irish community and medical professionals (Linn, 2010:70).

This is just a brief overview on critical race theory and its useful applications and there is more to be done on it. This researcher paper aims to contribute to this literature. Critical Race Theory is an impactful and important theory that when used properly can really give meaningful input to research.

### **Chapter Three: Historical Background**

The researcher will be highlighting the historical sources and past research and archaeology that has been done talking about this topic and history and discussing its significance in this chapter. The researcher has tried to cover as much historical context as possible to give a clear picture of the significance of the pattern that is found in the archaeology material in this research. The historical literature review will be broken up into three sections, each corresponding with different contexts and the points being expressed. The three sections for the historical background are 1) the Irish in America pre-Famine, 2) the Irish in America during Famine, and 3) the Irish in Maryland. By understanding the historical background and the many obstacles the Irish faced in the United States and in Maryland specifically, we are able to interpret and analyze our data more thoroughly and with greater understanding.

This chapter will cover the pertinent historical data of when, where, and how Irish immigrants were treated historically in America and in Maryland. The Irish view from afar was that the motto of the Colonies in America took it to be the land of opportunity and freedom from oppression(s). In theory, this motto was enticing and looks vastly more appealing than the treatment they were receiving in their native land of Ireland by the British. However, the oppression and dehumanization that they fled from, they encountered yet again in this new land of opportunity-- just with new faces. In this chapter there will be language and imagery that we as a 'more civilized' and refined society will find unsettling; however, let us take a moment to understand that we are not so far removed from these acts of hatred. Let us reflect on what this history

will unravel and tell us about the dominant group in our societies and how easy it is to accept dehumanization of those we view as different or backwards from us.

### **The Irish in America Pre-Famine**

The Irish have been in America since the start of the Colonies. During this time, they will either be referred to and/or written about in two distinctively opposite ways: the first being heroes that helped fight for freedom from British oppression or predominately written about as backwards, subhuman things. Brighton states that the Irish that were exiled from Ireland in 1798, came to New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore (Brighton, 2009:67). Explaining that the Irish were part of the working-class communities that supported Thomas Jefferson and stood against Alexander Hamilton (Brighton, 2009:67). This was because Jefferson was part of the Federalist Party, which was in support of a strong central government that would control trade and commerce at the expense of the poor (Brighton, 2009:67). In *A History Of The Irish Settlers In North America, From The Earliest Period To The Census Of 1850* McGee writes;

*....Ireland advances her claim to respect and remembrance as a contributor to this world's work. She also had helped to reclaim the land from barrenness, and to liberate it from oppression. Her sons have made many a clearing, found many a ford, worked out many a noble plan, fighting stoutly for their new country, on land and sea, when so required... It is of these Irish settlers in America, this book is written; and, while looking over its brief chapters, I cannot suppress a sigh, that much greater books have been written of men who did not deserve the honor one half so well (McGee, 1851: 15-16).*

McGee's words speak of great acts that the Irish have done, and he also tries to explain why the Irish even ended up on shore in America. McGee states that "[t]he first Irish people who found permanent homes in America, were certain Catholic patriots,

banished by Oliver Cromwell to Barbados, in 1649” (McGee, 1851:23). However, the issue is not just being Irish but Irish Catholic. Irish Catholics were not viewed as useful because they were seen as lazy drunks and ape-like beings, which led to them being dehumanized and oppressed. A political cartoonist during this time (1820’s-1880’s) Thomas Nast would regularly make sure to show the Irish, especially the Irish Catholic immigrants, as unfit to have citizenship or even work, and this started even before the increase of Irish due to the Great Famine (Josh Zeitz, 2015). Thomas Nast and his hate for the Irish Catholics will be discussed later in this chapter.

### **The Irish in America during the Famine**

Most of the feelings and attitudes towards the Irish did not change from the start of America to when the influx of the Irish came due to the famine in Ireland (1845 – 1852) (Brighton,2009:69). In fact, the mistrust and hatred towards the Irish only increased due to heightened British propaganda that reached many countries that traded with the British or had ties such as the United States (Brighton,2009:69). During this time period, there was no real imagery of what the Irish were truly facing in Ireland--just cartoons that spend showing them as lazy, untrustworthy (because they were Catholics) and happily living in slums (Brighton,2009:72). The main source of information that was perpetuated by News outlets such as Puck magazine and Harper’s weekly were these propaganda cartoons and articles provided by the British Empire and royal family pushed their agenda of justifying their appalling behavior and treatment of the Irish (Brighton,2009:73). From these anti-Irish propaganda campaigns the worldviews of the Americans were formed. Tainted perception fostered by the British, in large part, helped form the basis of prejudicial views and dehumanizing

opinions of the Irish people in America (Brighton,2009:73). This in turn laid the foundation for the environment their culture would evolve in (Brighton,2009:73). Cartoons such as the ones shown below (figures 1-4) are just a small collection of propaganda that was popularized during this time period.

The following images and depictions (Figures 1-2) of the Irish were common and increased in frequency as American news outlet begin publishing them overseas and their only source was not just from overseas, but from other states as well. These published drawings show and depict the Irish as ape-like and subhuman, a typical tactic for depicting other threatening groups, such as African slaves in the South, deeming these groups unworthy of respect and citizenship. These cartoons also showed how the White Anglo Protestant males that held the power in the United States viewed the Irish as drunken uncouth individuals that smoked and were Catholic. The last figure shows just how much the Anglo white Protestant mistrusted Irish Catholics and were unwilling to welcome them with open arms. Cartoonist like Nast pushed the narrative that no respectable individual would smoke or drink like the Irish did. Always making sure to show that the Irish would be drawn drunk, and important to this research, often with a clay smoking pipe, and a shamrock the imagery would also often imply they were Catholic without actually saying it. Smoking was viewed during this time period as a vice and something that was looked down on in polite society, and that only the Irish and soldiers really smoke and to be Catholic was to be viewed as a traitor and often a pagan (Irish Railroad Workers Museum, 2021).

# CONTRASTED FACES.

"Look on this picture, and then on that!"—SHAKESPEARE.



Fig. 747. — FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.



Fig. 748.—BRIDGET MCBRUISER.

Figure 1 "Contrasted Faces" Racist Cartoon Published by Harper's Weekly in 1854 (Courtesy Library of Congress, artist unknown).



The Iberians are believed to have been originally an African race, who thousands of years ago spread themselves through Spain over Western Europe. Their remains are found in the barrows, or burying places, in sundry parts of these countries. The skulls are of low, prognathous type. They came to Ireland, and mixed with the natives of the South and West, who themselves are supposed to have been of low type and descendants of savages of the Stone Age, who, in consequence of isolation from the rest of the world, had never been out-competed in the healthy struggle of life, and thus made way, according to the laws of nature, for superior races.

Figure 2 Racist Cartoon Published by Harper's Weekly in 1899 (Courtesy Library of Congress, artist unknown).





Figure 3 Cartoon by Thomas Nast depicting that the influx of Irish immigrant Catholics as an invasion that the women and children need to be protected from (Courtesy Library of Congress).

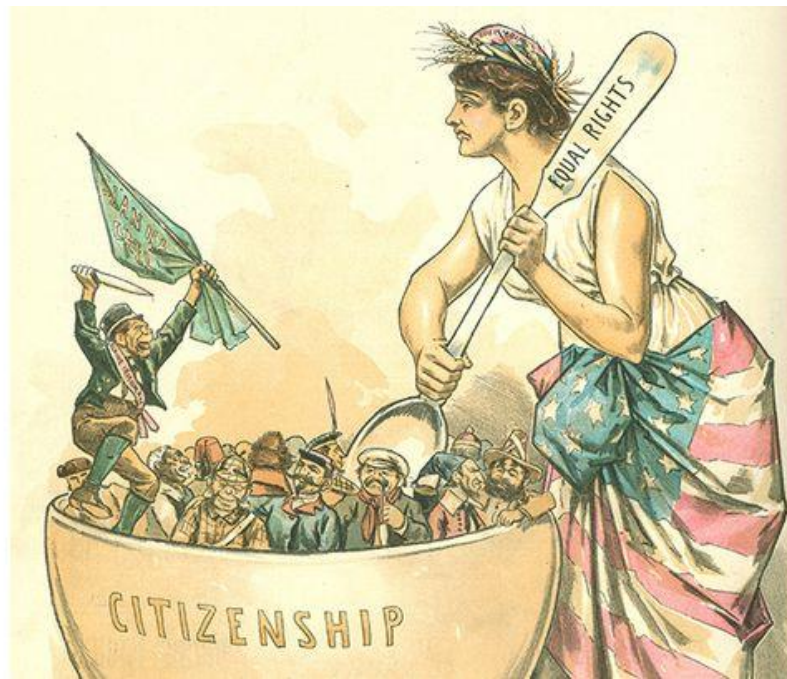


Figure 4 From Puck magazine in 1889 depicting the Irish as undeserving of citizenship (Courtesy Library of Congress).

Due to this hateful propaganda, the Irish lived in the poorest of areas in the United States such as the Five Points in New York City which is similar to the Row houses in Baltimore, Maryland and Texas, Maryland. The book, *The Great Famine and*

*the Irish Diaspora in America* shows the example of “Mary Rush and her husband, Michael, who were typical famine immigrants to North America— where at least three fourths of whom were poor laborers and servants” (Gribben, 1999:197). During the early nineteenth century, many Americans feared the Irish due to the large numbers that were coming into the country. And because a large number of these individuals were Catholics, they were seen and considered as papists as well as worthless. Until recently in 2015 there were not as many publications that were scanned and made digital making them easily accessible to the public and academic research unless you made a special trip to the Library of Congress itself. Not sure of the purpose of this statement as it connects to the next section—are you saying research on the Irish was not easily accessible? Then just say that. This is a good example of how to make your writing more concise and the point. This is important to note because many historians such as Richard Jensen published and still stand by their statements that the Irish community, especially the Irish Catholic community, victimized themselves and exaggerated the amount of bias and hate that the Irish had to face in the United States. In Jensen’s article “‘No Irish Need Apply’: A Myth of Victimization” that was published in the *Journal of Social History*, Jensen states that it was a myth that the Irish whereas dehumanized the Irish community would state and that the No Irish need Apply was greatly exaggerated and was shared memory of “no Irish need apply” was because of a famous song, and was nothing more than fiction. Even before 2015 and the increase of scanned publications, Martin Forker published his research and article “The use of the 'cartoonist's armoury' in manipulating public opinion: anti-Irish imagery in 19th century British and American periodicals”. The article shows that there

was indeed a strong use of cartoons to dispirit the Irish and sustain racist concepts in public thinking, as seen in the figures above.

*[B]y mid-century American urban society was less confident and more fragmented along socioeconomic, ethnic, and religious lines. Increasingly fearful of pauper immigrants, organized labor, and the Catholic Church, many Protestant Americans—especially the Whig merchant elite who had long dominated New York's social and political systems—no longer welcomed either Irish Catholic immigrants at home or the prospect of Irish revolution abroad. Consequently, the fugitive leaders of the Young Ireland revolution of 1848 (and of the Fenian revolt of 1867) often had to choose between careers as single-minded and radical Irish American nationalists, thereby marginalizing their personal prospects in the conservative mainstreams of both Irish American and native American societies, and as Irish American politicians, capitalizing on Irish rhetoric and reputations to unite Irish immigrants, under their leadership, into a formidable political force, in the process winning approval from the Irish American Catholic hierarchy, grudging respect from the native American establishment, and money and power for themselves (Gribben, 1999: 203).*

This mindset and treatment is what led to the Irish slowly conforming to the dominant groups' social norms and behaviors.

### **The Irish in Maryland**

The Irish that lived and worked in Maryland were like most that lived in America, poor laborers that worked the hard jobs that many 'white' Americans did not want to work. However, because Maryland was a Catholic colony many Irish flocked to Maryland for a new life. McGee wrote that "[t]he Colony of Maryland founded by Roman Catholics, held out special attractions to the first immigrants of that denomination. The Irish rising of 1641, it is thought, "affected the population of the province" (McGee, 1851: 25). Because of the large number of Catholics and Irish

Catholics that came to Maryland for a new life there was a new law passed. In 1649 the Act of Toleration was passed in Maryland which made the act of practicing Catholicism legal. However, this law was soon to be repealed only five short years later in 1654 making it illegal to be Catholic once again. The Irish in Maryland worked in the quarries and the railroads they are closely associated with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Even though Maryland was predominantly Catholic, acceptance and treatment of the Irish immigrant was not what one would perceive (Irish Railroad Workers Museum, 2021). The Irish Catholics in Maryland were often victims of hate crimes and violence in Baltimore (Irish Railroad Workers Museum, 2021).

## **Chapter Four: Methodology**

This chapter will discuss the methodologies they are used to obtain data and address the research questions using the recovered material culture. The researcher is posing the question of whether there a visible pattern that can be seen within the material culture and assemblages. The researcher will be testing their hypothesis with methodologies such as stratigraphy and the material culture analysis to obtain TPQ dates for associated strata, to interpret and analyze the data gathered from two sites located in Baltimore City and County, Maryland. Both sites have been excavated by individuals other than the researcher, and the researcher also has not worked with the artifacts and materials firsthand. This section will also discuss the complications this research faced due to COVID-19, how it may have impacted the data and the interpretations and in turn the results. The artifacts that will be analyzed for this research date from the 1840s to the 1900s. The researcher would also like to state that even though the date range lines up with that of the Great Famine that does not mean this thesis is only about the famine Irish in the United States. The artifacts and Irish discussed about in this thesis are diverse; however, it also shows that all Irish in the United States faced the same racialization and dehumanization from the dominant group and that the Irish Dimorphic community collectively had to come to terms with what material culture that had to throw away to be able to assimilate.

### **Methods**

The researcher took a rather straight forward approach in gathering data from CRM projects field reports and as well as archival data that proofed to be relevant to the research question and was able to be interpreted and analyzed. By employing the

scientific method, the researcher first started with a testable hypothesis which then lead to data collection. Due to the unforeseeable complications of COVID-19, it was impossible to conduct field work and actual data collection, this study relied heavily on data already collected from sites with support from archival data that was collected from Church records.

The significance of context where these artifacts were recovered is crucial to understand the artifacts' significance itself and its meaning. So, what is important when understanding and forming the results is identifying three different key moments in the individuals lives that lived here. The results that were formulated from these artifacts come from the principal of Terminus post quem (TPQ) which translates from the Latin 'the end after which' or more commonly understood and used the date after which, typically when an artifact or class of artifacts begins to be manufactured. This term is used and defines how archaeologists are able to date an artifact in somewhat accurate terms when it comes to identifying an artifacts chronological date from where it is located in the stratigraphy and for assigning the other artifacts recovered from the same stratum to a period of time from 1845-1900.

The data was obtained by a collective effort from the following individuals: Dr. Palus, Dr. Brighton, and Lara Westwood, who is the librarian from the Maryland Historical Trust. Dr. Brighton specifically obtained the data and documents from the multiple excavations that have taken place over the years at Texas, Maryland. Dr. Palus, helped to locate the site information for the site located in Baltimore and as well as gave the researcher Ms. Westwood's contact information so the researcher was able to get copies of the site reports that had the artifact catalog and archaeological material.

The sites were on the Maryland Historical Trust online resource known as MEDUSA (<https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/>). The researcher was granted access to the MEDUSA database by applying and being granted special credentials to log into it. By using this website, MEDUSA, the researcher was able to pinpoint the sites and obtain the information that was needed from relevant sources and data. MEDUSA was also used to locate sites all over Maryland that are pertinent to this research.

### **18BC80 – Privy Feature19AO1**

The first location is a collection of rowhouses and a privy in Baltimore. This location is known as site 18BC80 that also has several other sites connected to it, reported by R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates (1992). It was excavated between October of 1989 to March of 1990 by R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc. The project area was an 85-acre project incorporated in a 71-block portion of the former Camden Yards Industrial Park, the site of Oriole Park at Camden Yards, and of a planned professional football stadium. Thousands of archaeological artifacts were recovered from this project. Most of the material and artifacts that are highlighted in the data for this thesis come from one privy date ranging from the 1840s to 1900 located in the project area that is identified as Feature 19AO1. The artifacts recovered from the privy and analyzed for this study are the clay smoking pipes, glass medicinal bottles, and religious medals.



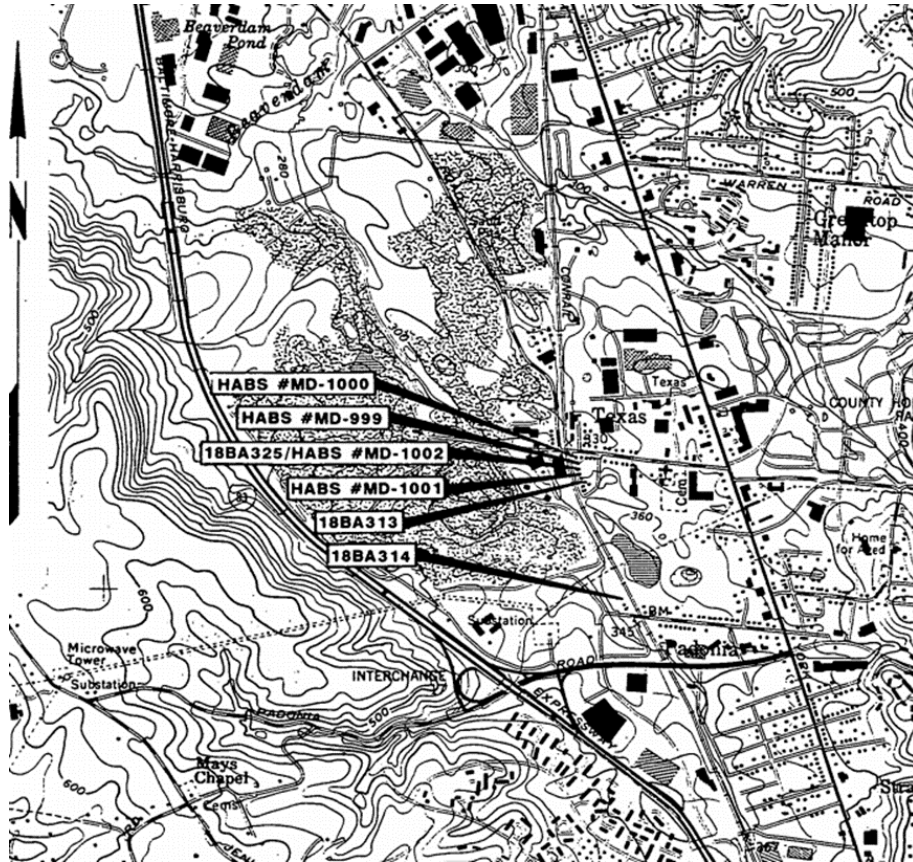


Map 1 Map of Camden Yards archaeological site area

## 18BA314 Feature BA 93

The second location is Workers Barracks, 18BA314 located in Texas, Maryland that was done by Ted M Payne (1990). The Site is the Quarry Town of Texas, Maryland. For the commercial field that was done there were three phases completed. The work was done by Ted M. Payne of Mid-Atlantic Archaeological Research in 1990. Payne writes in his report that this area was part of the Irish Catholic Row which plays a key part in the data that will be shown and discussed further in the results chapter of this research. The artifacts interpreted from this site and are clay smoking pipes, glass medicinal bottles, and religious medals.





Map 2 Map of Workers Barracks archaeological site area.

## Quarry Town Research Dissertation

The Final location is in Texas Maryland at Quarry Town. This site was investigated during academic field work completed by University of Maryland students for a field school over several years. It was overseen by Dr. Brighton and Ph.D. student Adam Fracchia (now Dr. Fracchia). This work was used for Dr. Fracchia's dissertation that was published and approved by his committee in 2014. This site and Dr. Fracchia's dissertation will be supplemental to the other two sites that will help support the visible pattern that appears with the material culture and assemblages. This location recovered the similar archaeological materials and artifacts, being the glass medical bottles, clay smoking pipes, and religious medals and objects found in the privy and icehouse. This site was already excavated previously so the data set is slightly smaller; however, Dr.

Fracchia's research holds important insight onto the context for my research. Dr. Fracchia reached a different conclusion from earlier studies of Quarry Town, stating that one is able to see markers in the assemblages to understand that they are indeed connected to the Irish community and not only in name. Dr. Fracchia focuses on Marxist theory and how the material culture shows a pattern that the Irish community would buy and consume the goods that would help them assimilate into the dominant group.

## **Data**

The data collected from the two locations are made up several sites that are interconnected: usually rowhouses for labor communities. Both locations have large and substantial data sets due to the vastness of the sites and the number of artifacts that were recovered from them. The researcher narrowed down assemblages from these locations and project areas for the data set.

The artifacts in the data set are glass bottles, personal items, and any artifacts that can be associated by archeologists with Irish race/ethnicity. These associated artifacts are clay smoking pipes and specific religious objects. Also, this research will not be looking at any artifacts that fall out of the time range-from 1840s to 1900.

Both of the archaeological surveys of the Workers Barracks and Camden yards rowhouses and privy took place during the 1990s, so the focus and theories being used to analyze and interpret the data were different than that of today because we now look at sites with a different theoretical lens than in the past. Each artifact was recovered from standard 2x2 meter units and documented where in the project area each artifact was recovered as well as the artifacts context and Provenience. The artifacts were

placed into artifact bags with the unit number/location, date, and provenience written on each individual unit bag. The provenience and context play a crucial role for the artifacts be useful as data and can be interpreted.

## **Archival Data**

Archival data was gathered from documents obtained from the Maryland Historical Trust on the local Catholic Church during that time, St. Peter's the Apostles Church in Baltimore that was retrieved from the Archdiocese of Baltimore's archives both on the website and at the main offices at the Basilica. This Church is no longer operating and does not have a parish community, so the data is gathered from what remains of the documents from the church. This archival data was analyzed and used for statistical data mapping out patterns that support the material data and artifacts that have been recovered.

## **Limitations**

Due to Covid-19 greatly limited this research: the pandemic lead to general quarantine and closure of state offices, including the offices of the SHPO and the state repository at Jefferson-Patterson Park and Museum. The researcher was only truly able to carry out online research and was not able to physically to collect and conduct their research in person, relying instead on published archaeological data. This led to delays in obtaining some of the documents that had not been scanned or were misplaced. Also, the artifacts themselves the researcher only has the site reports writes up to go by on the descriptions in the site reports, so interpretations were made about artifacts from these report descriptions.

## **Chapter Five: Results**

The results and interpretation have been heavily influenced by the extensive research that has been published about the archaeological site known as the Five Points, located in New York City. The site deals with Irish laborers during this time and also shows similar results of how the Irish lived. The Five Points serves as a good support for the results and understand of the artifacts from quarry town of Texas, Workers Barracks, and the Camden Yards.

The results come from the researcher and their reexamination of data that was recovered from CRM archaeological reports and archival data. By examining the data and results that was first given with new theory the researcher was able to show a viable pattern of loss of material culture that the original reports were missing. In the original reports there were only small writes up about the Irish ethnicity and the history of the Irish so when reading these reports the pattern of loss of material culture is not noticeable right away because the artifacts were written as something that was trash and be thrown away. However, has the researcher will show and state these artifacts may have been thrown away; however, they were not thrown away because they were broken or no longer useful, they were thrown away because the Irish Diasporic community felt they needed to.

### **Artifacts Location and Significance**

The artifacts that were collected from the quarry town of Texas, Workers Barracks, and the Camden Yards are the bases for results, analysis, and interpretations. The artifacts were recovered from a trash midden and a privy that were located on or around the location have been confirmed to be associated with the Irish Diasporic

community documented in the site reports, if only briefly in the one. By looking at the artifacts in these locations we can gather information about the individuals and people living here. The artifacts that were found at these locations are in an area that Irish occupants would throw away discard objects and/or trash no longer useful, which implies what was of value to them and what they were using.

The three key moments that are of significance to this research are when the Irish community was actively dehumanized, the Irish community who started to let go of their material culture, and the indoctrination to the dominant ruling group that being the White Anglo male. Therefore, the TPQ and stratigraphy in which artifacts are located is crucial and also where they were found. However, this does not mean there are only three layers of stratigraphy but rather three distinct moments in history that can be identified from the archaeology material found.

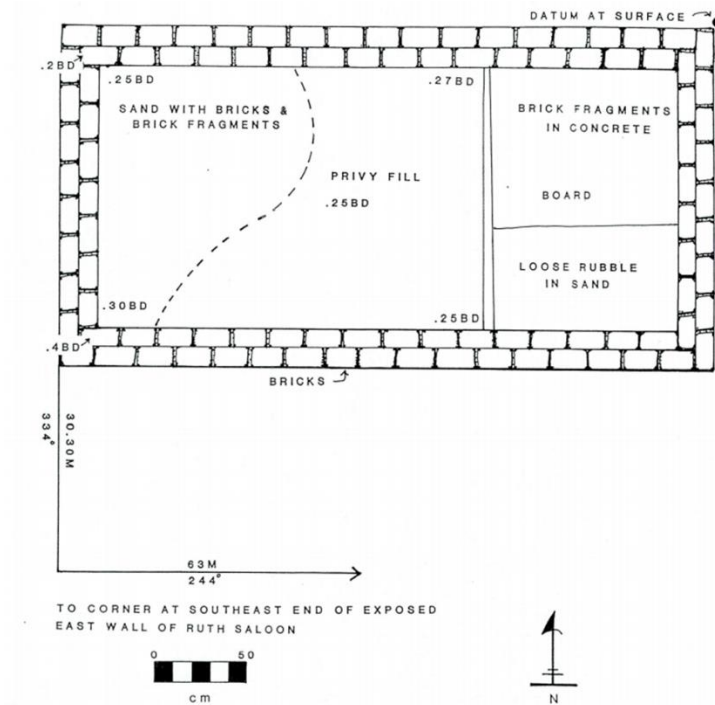


Figure 5 Image of Privy Plan from 18BC81 similar to that of 19AO1.

## Artifacts Significance

After talking about why the context of the artifacts significant to the results and the artifacts meaning, the artifacts significance and how it has led us to the results and conclusion will be discussed. The results and analysis that was formulated from these artifacts is not new; having been written about by both Drs. Brighton and Linn on the Five Points site in New York City. However, it was never applied to these artifacts and or to these locations in Maryland. The results are influenced by Dr. Brighton's, Dr. Meredith B. Linn, and Caroline Maloney, due the research that they had previously conducted. Each context is not a single stratigraphic layer but several clumped together that shows a key shift in the Irish community's hobbies and material culture. So, the artifacts significance comes from the shift that takes place within the context.

Table 1 Classes of artifacts found and used from each of the three sites; Workers Barracks, Quarry Town and Camden Yards.

Site Name	Workers Barracks	Quarry Town	Camden Yards
Site Number	18BA314	18BA313	18BC80
Clay Tobacco Pipes	6 clay smoking pipes with Irish Harp and imagery	Clay Pipes 33 bowls were recovered	Clay Pipes 8 complete clay smoking pipes were recovered. With the slogan 'Home Rule' and the Irish Harp
Religious Medals	10 small circular religious medals with Irish imagery and Latin inscriptions, and approximately two sets of rosary beads	Small circular Medals with imagery/ Religious Medals	Small circular Medals with imagery/Religious Medals a small number was found with Irish imagery (15)
Pharmaceutical Medicine Bottles	10 medicine bottles embossed with medicine or druggists' names	Medical Bottles 1 medical bottle recovered	40 medicine bottles embossed with the medicine or the druggists' names.
Tonic/Elixir Bottles	94 glass elixir/tonic bottles	1 elixier/tonic bottle	95 glass elixir/tonic bottles

Table 2 Inventory of items from 18BA314 feature BA93 and 18BC80 feature 19AO1.

Context	Clay Tobacco Pipes	Religious Medals	Pharmacy Bottles	Medicine Bottles
<b>18BA314 feature BA93</b>				
Context 1	2	0	0	4
Context 2	6	10	0	90
Context 3	0	0	10	0
Totals	8	10	10	94
<b>18BC80 feature 19AO1</b>				
Context 1	0	0	2	15
Context 2	8	15	3	80
Context 3	0	0	40	0
Totals	8	15	45	95

### Context One Assemblage 1840s-1870s

As one can see in the table there was a large number of artifacts found even with the parameters to narrow down the number of artifacts that would be used from these sites. To tackle the results and analysis and the significance of the artifacts we will be going in chronological order of when the three key events take place and the artifacts that are found there. On this last level, one can see a great number of glass bottles that were interpreted/identified as elixirs and tonics used for medicinal use. The significance of these bottles have two meanings; the first being that the Irish had not yet assimilated into the dominant group by adopting their norms and practices and the second is they could not afford the standard medical treatments or even trusted them (Linn, 2010: 70).

These ‘fix all’ toxics and elixirs were affordable and did not come with the shame of going to a medical professional and a pharmacy for medication. The Irish

were seen as dirty due to the dominant group perceiving that would live in filth willingly, so when they fell ill, they were naturally blamed for it by the way they lived and were often shamed if that went to receive help (Linn, 2010: 74).



Figure 6 Image from site report of some of the bottles recovered from the privy at the Camden Yards Site (18BC81).

## **Context Two Assemblage 1870s-1880s**

The second context falls in line with interpretation of the Irish community starting to strip away their material culture and beginning to assimilate and conform to the dominate social norms. This layer is where a lot of symbolic artifacts were found that have Irish and Irish Catholic iconography on them as seen in the table above. The results and interpretation from these artifacts show that to be assimilated into the dominate culture and group, the Irish community here in Baltimore had to choose to throw away their material culture that could be identify as Irish.

The first and most recovered artifact was clay smoking pipes with Irish imagery that was molded into the side of the bowl. Smoking pipes are fascinating artifacts that can tell archaeologists a plethora of information from time period, race/ethnicity, to social class. During this time smoking was associated with soldiers, lower class, and



the Irish and more often than not, viewed a habit that was ungodly and uncouth. It was almost impossible to see a caricature of an Irish men without a smoking pipe with a shamrock or harp on it. So, no respectable individual would want to be seen smoking in public because they would not want to be associated with the Irish or face backlash in their social status for going against the dominant social norms. So, it would make sense than that the Irish would start throwing away their smoking pipes and stop smoking to fit the social norms, we are able to tell this because of the large number of broken fragments of clay smoking pipes in the first context. From the pipes that were recovered from these sites in context two, many of them did indeed have shamrocks and a harp on the bowl showing their pride and nationalism also with the slogan 'Home Rule'. This artifact shows a diversity within the Irish community living at these sites

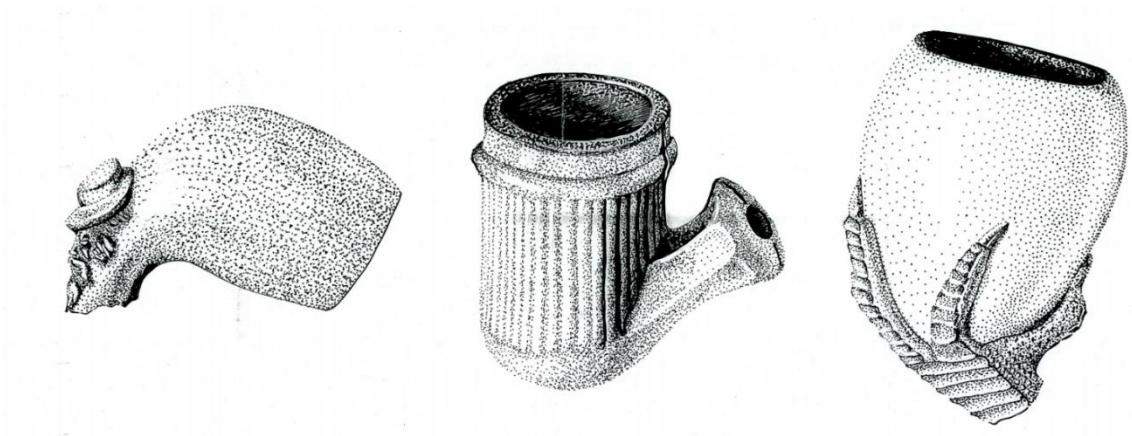


Figure 7 Image from site report of Clay pipes recovered from the Camden yards site (18BC81).

highlighting what they supported and would publicly show support in.

In figure 7, three different clay pipes are shown. The first clay pipe is believed to have Irish iconography on the bowl that may have extended up the stem of the pipe. The second clay pipe is believed to be known as a clay penny pipe. And the last pipe has a dragon like claw wrapping around the base of the bowl making this one a more stylized pipe.

The second artifact that supports the results of assimilation during this time period is the different religious medals and objects that were recovered from the privy and trash midden with that number being possibly 15 or greater as seen in the table above. These types of the religious medals and rosaries are not something that are easily dropped or even broken, so it does lead to the interpretation of being purposely thrown away. These smoking pipes are also able to tell us about the social norms of the time as well.

To also support these results from the data recovered from the archaeological material there is also archival data that supports a decline in members of the Irish community maintaining or raising their families Catholic. From documents obtained from the local Catholic church during that time, St. Peter's the Apostles Church which is located next to the B&O railroad and also where the privy is located. During this period, a 50% decline in Irish attendants is observed (Find my Past, 2021).

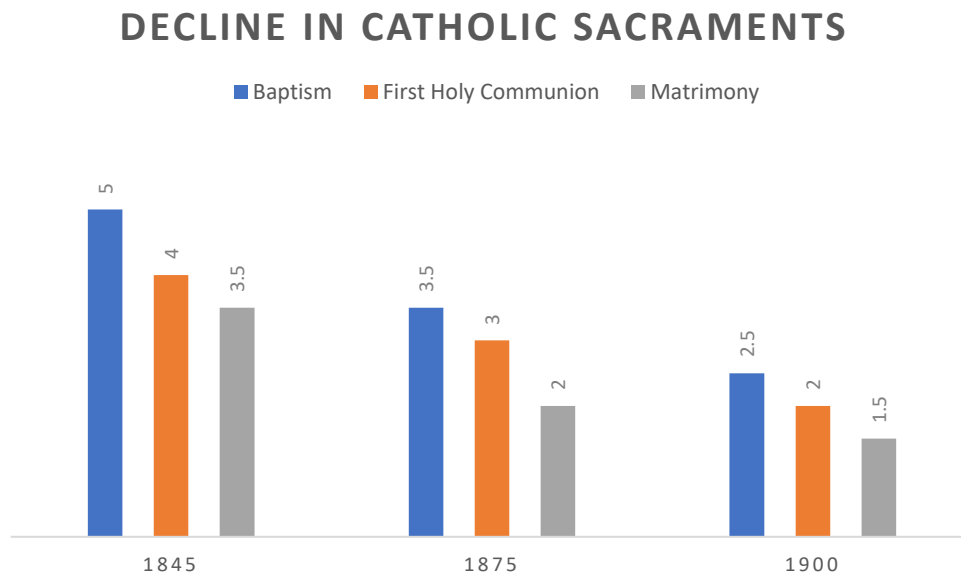


Figure 8 Chart documenting the number of individuals receiving religious sacraments; baptism, first holy communion, and matrimony at St. Peters the Apostles Church for different time periods. Each whole number represents 100 individuals.

The Census data that was obtained from Dr. Stephen Brighton. The data gives a clearer and more personal insight to the workers and families that lived at Texas, Maryland. The data shows the Irish was a very small minority in the community. The data shows that most of the Irish individuals that have a profession notated are detailed as laborers or railroad workers for the men and homemakers for the women. In comparison showing their Maryland counterparts had other jobs that were considered higher up on the social ladder and this carried through even with the women in professions as teacher. The Census data gives a clear image of the percentage of Irish residing, working and being a minority just in this one location in Maryland. This data further helps to show why the Irish felt the need to throw away and lost much of their material culture.

From the data one is also able to have more of an insight of what life was like for the Irish and people during this time period. As already stated, the Irish were the minority in this area and that they made up most of the laboring workforce; however, more information can be obtained than just this small bit of information. First being how the Irish were racialized in the census in 1860 census they were checked off as people of color and in the 1870s census and 1900s census were often marked as mixed or Milano. Also, as time went on the census data became more detailed not only in general but also when making notes on Irish individuals. It shows that the Irish families on average the children less educated because they were already working. The Census workers even asked questions on if they spoke English or Irish which can be seen and in this case is a hostile question to ask (also the language is Irish Gaelic). It is a hostile question because of the assumptions that goes along with being a non-English speaker

calls into question if they are even a Citizen or not. This shows how they were racialized that in turn lead to the Irish loss of material culture.

Table 3 The overall population of Texas Maryland using Census data from 1860, 1870 and 1900 to show the number of Irish individuals/families compared to their counterparts.

# of Individuals	Ireland	Maryland	Elsewhere/NA
1860			
Total #: 240	53	146	41
Percentage:	22%	61%	17%
1870			
Total #: 640	215	398	27
Percentage:	34%	62%	4%
1900			
Total #: 741	47	651	43
Percentage:	6%	88%	6%

### Context Three Assemblage 1890s-1900s

In this context of artifacts there is nothing that shows any type of distinguishable cultural markers from any other trash midden or privy from this period that can be linked with anyone culture. Nothing in the archaeological assemblage from this context is typically associated with racial identifications or ethnicity. This is due to the assimilation with the dominate group and to their norms. Showing that the Irish had assimilated into the dominate group choosing to lose their material culture.

^ The reason this top context is so significant is because of what is found is this context has no markers that one can pick out and say that yes someone that is Irish would own this. In this context, tonic and elixir bottles are replaced with pharmacological and medicinal bottles. Also, there are no clay pipes with Irish symbolism or iconography on them as well as no religious medals or imagery found. The top context of privy and trash pit analyzed look like any others located across

Maryland with similar material recovered having no markers that are identifiable with any particular ethnicity showing loss of material culture that the Irish Diasporic community had to throw away to assimilate.

## Chapter Six: Analysis

Throughout my literature review, Dr. Brighton's research publication, *Historical Archaeology of the Irish Diaspora* is the most well-known and cited on the topic. Dr. Brighton uses the archaeological material from the Five Points site to show how the ruling class and dominant class held power over the Irish diasporic community there. Dr. Brighton's focus on the material culture was the type of glass bottles and ceramics. Dr. Brighton's research shows how the dominant class controlled the Irish community through the material culture and artifacts recovered at the site.

### Analysis Literature

From Dr. Brighton's research, Dr. Lin also picks up the mantle of showing how the Irish community was mistreated and abused by the dominant class and group. However, Dr. Lin only focuses on glass bottles with a special interest in tonic and medical bottles. She showed how the use of these bottles represents culture and the loss of cultural traditions and practices. She explains how a bottle that holds medication is thrown away shows culture and where someone stands within the norm of dominant culture.

Patrick O'Sullivan's book series *The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage, Identity* is a six-volume series on the Irish and their movements and progression. The volumes relevant to the researcher and their analysis are as follows; volume two, four, five, and six. Volume two is titled, *The Irish in The New Communities*. This volume explains how the Irish were viewed and treated in their new homes. It gets into the psychological distress and treatment dealing with identity, work, and language. Volume four is titled, *Irish Women and Irish Migration*. This volume covers the

contributions of Irish women within their households and how they had to alter how they act, look, and buy, and in turn teach their children the same to help keep them safe from abuse and ridicule. Volume five is titled, *Religion and Identity*. This volume discusses how the Irish were view and treated due to their cultural practices as well as their religious beliefs. It explains in depth how many Irish Catholics were persecuted unjustly and would turn away from the faith so they would no longer face the ruling classes abuse and biases against them. Finally, Volume six is titled, *The Meaning of The Famine*. This final volume summarizes the topics that were previously discussed, in addition to highlighting the various groups which showed the Irish communities' kindness instead of hate, and how the Irish diaspora is talked about and researched today.

Researchers of Irish Diaspora argue that the locations of each artifact within the privy or trash midden can show how the Irish communities living in these sites had to strip away their cultural practices and beliefs to be accepted by the dominant group/ruling class. The privy at the Camden Yards site known at 190A1 that is associated with the Irish rowhouses and trash medinas all have similar artifacts recovered which supports the conclusions the researchers reached. Each piece of data and artifact holds so much meaning for the community, they're each analyzed to interpret the reasoning as to why it was recovered in that specific location and that layer.

The researchers analyzed and interpreted that the middle context that contain majority of the bottle data from the trash pits and privy were when the Irish were still holding onto their culture and facing exclusion from the dominant group. This is

because of the number of tonic and elixir bottles that were recovered from this layer. This is supported by the research done by Dr. Brighton and Dr. Lin on how the Irish culture would heavily use these types of concoctions instead of facing the stigma of getting medicine and the mistrust they held towards doctors.

Next is the clay smoking pipes that were recovered from context two. The pipes give insight to the researchers that a major habit associated with Irish identity was being thrown away, thus begging the question as to why. This context is interpreted by the researcher as the stripping away from cultural identity and practices. These clay smoking pipes are identified as Irish in nature because of the imagery on the bowls and stems, the color of the clay, and the lack of glaze this by the DAACS cataloging manual standards are all markers of Irish made clay smoking pipes (DAACS, 2018).

Past and current research enables the researcher to argue that the artifacts and data show enough conclusive information to state that the dominant group/ruling class made life so miserable for the Irish trying to make a living in America, that they felt they were left with no choice but to strip themselves of their identity and culture and mimic the social norms of the ruling class to survive.

### **Analysis/Interpretation of the Data**

Reviewing the literature that has been published on this topic, a framework was formed to help interpret the information each artifact provided. Initially, the information provided by the glass elixir and tonic bottles were analyzed and interpreted, then the clay smoking pipes, religious medals, and lastly the medicinal bottles. When it came to the interpretations of the different types of glass bottles the research broke them down into two categories to show the progression over time and where they were



located. The number of elixir and tonic bottles found in all three sites in the bottom context dating to around the 1840s shows a large intake and use of types of medical remedies far outweighing the medical bottles given out by doctors and pharmacies. This shows that the Irish community was not seeing or going to medical professionals, instead choosing to self-medicate using home remedies. From this information, the researcher concluded that the Irish community that lived at these sites during this period in time felt it was better to self-medicate because it was not only what they were used to and common practice in Ireland due to their low resources, but they did not want to face the stigma and ridicule that went along with seeking professional help for illnesses because they were considered ‘dirty Irish’.

The analysis and integration of the clay smoking pipes that were recovered in the middle layer of the privy and trash pits dating to around the 1870s is as follows. The clay smoking pipes were recovered from the Camden Yards site and the Texas Maryland workers barracks where a large number of fragments were recovered in the bottom context and more than 30 complete pipes were recovered from the site as a whole and 8 complete ones from the privy which came from context two. The clay smoking pipe fragments that were found in the bottom context shows that the Irish individuals and families that lived smoked them regularly. However, as time progressed, as shown by the second context, pipes were being thrown out. Very few fragments were recovered in this layer. No clay smoking pipes were recovered in the third context. This information is interpreted to mean that by the middle context (approximately 1870), the Irish living at these sites were trying to distance themselves from the stereotypes and stigma that came along with smoking clay pipes and being

labeled as 'lazy dirty violent Irish'. These stereotypes were discussed and showed in the historical background of this research, which states that smoking was not something some in polite society would partake in.

In addition to the medicinal bottles and clay smoking pipes, religious medals were also recovered from the sites. Between the site at Camden Yards and the Workers Barracks, 25 religious medals were found thrown away in a trash pit and privy. It can be argued that the religious medals found in the privy could have fallen in by accident; however, the probability that 15 religious medals and two possible rosaries were accidentally lost in the privy during the same time period is very low. The act of throwing away religious medals is another indication that during this period, the Irish were even distancing themselves from their religious beliefs in an attempt to avoid the ire of the ruling class. For Catholics when it comes to religious teachings and objects there is always protocols that one learns at a very young age that have to be upheld. The individual may not always understand where it is stated or why they follow them; however, it is ingrained into their mind. And that is no different for medals and relics which protocols can be found in Code of Canon Law under CIC 1190:1 and CIC 1190:2 which states that medals and relics are to be burned or buried and should never be thrown away like trash (Code of Canon Law, 1983).

### **Analysis/Interpretations of the Collective Data**

Based on the overall assemblage, analysis and interpretation of recovered artifacts, the researcher argues that the data support an interpretation of progressive indoctrination of the Irish communities into the dominant groups culture and the

stripping away of their own material culture to be able to assimilate into the dominate groups, during the period of time examined in this thesis.

Each artifact and context are able to give a clear image of how the Irish community navigated in the social and political climate of this time period to be able to assimilate in the dominate group.

### **Limitations of the Analysis/Interpretations**

This project faced many different factors that posed hurdles for the analysis and interpretation and thus limited the conclusions which could be drawn. For this research project the researcher faced the limitation of only being able to gather the site data from the site reports with one being incomplete and mostly missing. The researcher was also not able to view or interact with any of the artifacts so there were some liberties taken with the interpretations and analysis. The information came from the site report descriptions.

For some of the artifacts they could be interpreted in other ways. First being the possible religious medals and rosaries recovered from trash midden. There was a fire at this location during the time period in context in which these artifacts were covered and were thrown away because of being part of the cleanup from the fire. However, the researcher does not feel that it is likely because of the location of where the artifacts were recovered to where the fire was, and also there was no other artifacts that showed signs of being burned or being in a fire.

## **Chapter Seven: Conclusion**

Two questions were addressed in this research, the first being does the archaeological evidence discussed support the historical record and show a visible pattern in the assemblages and the second, was how does the depiction of Irish history in today's media lead to the spread of misinformation about the diaspora, and inequalities that occurred over time within the community? This misinformation may not be intended to be malicious; however, by citing an historian like Richard Jensen the articles are bound to be riddle with misinformation.

After investigating different media sources with over 30 articles all stating or repeating similar statements and sentiments about the Irish Diaspora, the researcher concluded that many media sources are very biased and post opinions pieces. These pieces offer very little in terms of factual information and are not discussion pieces. Furthermore, the media sources do not offer notable fact checking on their published pieces, such as Kennedy article that states the Irish Diaspora is a myth and hype dramatized. The reason the researcher is so hard on these news sites is due to individuals reading these articles and then in turn writing post. When speaking on the subject of the Irish Diaspora and their history, articles full of misleading information have been published on various social media platforms. News outlets do not have the same ethical standard and rigor of that of academia; however, publishing articles with misinformation with the intent to mislead readers is unethical and a disservice to society. Unfortunately, this professional integrity is not upheld, and articles written by Axel Schmidt and Liam Kennedy usually have a larger audience and are used as sources of facts. Whereas articles written by the Irish Workers Museum and Shrine in

Maryland have a much smaller audience. The individuals that have taken the time to join these institutions mailing list or go to their website are also usually academics, researchers and/or historians. Because of the lack of professional integrity and rigorous ethical standard within news institutions, we are left with a misinformed public which further spreads hateful stereotypes that insight bias and hate.

Because of journalists like Axel Schmidt and Liam Kennedy, a narrative that the injustices which the Irish experienced in America was in a way not as important, impactful, or damaging as other Diaspora's has been established. As a society we need to move away from this mind set of comparing Diaspora's and instead chose to acknowledge the similarities and patterns that have happened to these communities. Instead, we need to acknowledge that each community has experienced different hardships at different points of time and in different areas and that hardships, and injustices experienced should not be compared to try to create a narrative that one group has suffered more to take away what others have gone through.

So, what did the archaeological material tell us, and did it support the research question. The researcher question being does the archaeological evidence discussed support the historical record and a visible pattern in the assemblages representing a loss of Irish material culture, and assimilation. The artifacts recovered help to support the historical narrative of how the Irish had to lose their material culture by throwing/disposing of material culture that was tightly intertwined with their culture and traditions. This is not to say that the Irish community completely stripped themselves of their culture or that every individual slowly replaced their traditions to 'fit in'. However, what this research shows, is that a significant number of individuals

within the Irish communities in Maryland threw away their material culture that represented what it meant to be Irish to try and assimilate to the dominate ruling class. This does not mean that they necessarily stopped being Irish in private keeping other practices and traditions alive, just that they stripped themselves of this more outward Irish appearance. Studies are still being conducted to determine how bullying and peer pressure impact individuals and groups of people nowadays, so it is not hard to understand why the Irish community did this due to the bias, hate, and violence that they were facing every day.

The researcher gathered and compiled three different CRM field reports using their data to analyze and interpret their data to show a visible pattern within the material cultural that the Irish community had lose their material culture to be able to assimilate into the dominant groups. This research has just scratched the surface, and at only three archaeological sites within Maryland. Further research could look at material culture from more sites such as Ruth Saloon 18BC8079, Hill Street 18BC25, and many more and not just limited to within Maryland. Furthermore, the research feels that is research shows that more research and study can be done on the Irish diaspora even it is just looking at sites already excavated and reinterpreting and analyzing the data and results with a new theory and looking at it with a new lens... CRM and archaeology can go far behind than just what history says it can immerse individuals and communities into the way of life that once was and show patterns of assimilation or resistance that occurred. CRM and archaeology can do so much with proper theory that fits an investigation, public outreach and involvement, with dedicated and diligent archaeologist one can truly be able to get a glimpse of the past. This investigation also concludes that the

more research on Irish archaeology is needed in Maryland, and that the field reports and archeological data should be made more accessible online, reflecting on the importance of digital records and information.

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